

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CAMBUSLANG REVIVAL

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THE Cambuslang Revival is generally reckoned to have broken out on Thursday, 18th February, 1742, under the ministry of the Rev. William McCulloch, an able and faithful minister but in no way distinguished as a popular preacher. On that day after his sermon about fifty persons followed Mr. McCulloch to the manse in a state of alarm about their souls. News of this spread abroad with the result that numbers of people began to frequent the vicinity of the church, and the minister found himself obliged to provide them with almost "daily sermon" and afterwards usually to spend some time with them in exhortation, prayer and singing of psalms. This continued throughout the spring and summer, evangelical preachers coming from far and near to assist the parish minister. On the Tuesday preceding the 11th of July, the day fixed for the next communion, George Whitefield, then paying his second visit to Scotland, arrived to lend his powerful aid. "At noon," he writes: "I came to Cambuslang, the place which God hath so much honoured. I preached at two to a vast body of people; again at six in the evening; and afterwards at nine. Such a commotion was surely never heard of, especially about eleven o'clock at night. It far outdid all that ever I saw in America. For about an hour and a half there was such weeping, so many falling into deep distress, and manifesting it in various ways, that description is impossible. The people seemed to be smitten by scores. They were carried off and brought into the house like wounded soldiers taken from a field of battle. Their agonies and cries were deeply affecting. Mr. McCulloch preached after I had done, till past one o'clock in the morning, and even then the people could scarcely be got to retire. Throughout the whole of the night might the voice of prayer and praise be still heard in the fields."

Whitefield with other notable ministers was present over the Communion week-end. The population of the parish of Cambuslang in those days was about 900; but it was reckoned that the number of people present on the Sunday was 30,000, though Whitefield, who had experience of large crowds, estimated no more than 20,000. With such numbers the whole proceedings had to be conducted out of doors. The number of

communicants was over 1700. It is not surprising that a demand should at once have arisen for another communion season soon to follow, and this was arranged for 15th August. It was a repetition of the first but on a larger scale. Twelve ministers, including Whitefield, were needed to conduct the services which continued all day. The lowest estimate put the crowds present at upwards of 30,000. This vast multitude came not only from the immediate neighbourhood and from Glasgow but from places at a considerable distance. The number of communicants was about 3,000, large numbers of them having come from as far away as towns in Ayrshire, Edinburgh and even England and Ireland. This occasion proved to be the high-water mark, after which the revival gradually subsided; though Cambuslang sacrament seasons continued for several years to draw crowds far in excess of the numbers that had been usual prior to 1742.

Since the crowds assembled at Cambuslang contained many from other parts of the country it is not surprising that the revival can be traced not only in the West of Scotland but much further afield. In particular, the not far distant parish of Kilsyth, where an awakening began in May, 1742, became a second source of revival influence, its minister, the Rev. James Robe, being particularly zealous in collecting and publishing news of the whole movement.

What were the permanent effects of the six months of that spring and summer at Cambuslang? Nine years later Mr. McCulloch prepared a review of the fruits of the revival which we may call, in his own term, his "attestation." This was considered paragraph by paragraph by his elders and approved, and a further short attestation by the elders was added to it. In his attestation the parish minister refers to "a list of about four hundred persons who were awakened here in 1742, and who, from that time to the time of their death or till now, have been enabled to behave in a good measure as becometh the gospel. This I state on what I have myself observed, and on the best information I could obtain, whether by conversation or by writing, from persons of established character and who knew those concerning whom they report." The elders' attestation mentions that seventy of those reported on thus favourably lived in the parish of Cambuslang in 1742, and the elders also declare their belief that the total number of those awakened in 1742 and persevering in godly ways would prove to be greater than the four hundred mentioned, "because," as they put it, "we have had no returns from the west country (Ayrshire and Renfrewshire) where we know very many of the subjects of the late awakening live, and of whom doubtless many are walking in the fear of God." It may be added that the Rev. Dr. Robertson who was inducted minister of Cambuslang towards the close

of the century, when some of the converts of the revivals were still alive, confirmed from his own knowledge the favourable impression of these 1751 attestations. Clearly the "Cambuslang Work," as regards the promotion of piety and morality, had lasting effects on many lives.

We are fortunate in having much more detailed evidence of the experience of a considerable number of those whose lives were changed in those stirring months. Mr. McCulloch left behind him two volumes which are thus referred to in his attestation. "Upwards of a fourth perhaps of the persevering subjects of the revival in 1742 gave me very particular accounts of God's dealing with their souls, as regards their first awakening, their outgates, their distresses, their deliverances and their comforts in 1742, 1743 and 1744; and some of them continued their accounts down to 1748. I took down many of these from their own mouths, always in their true sense, and very much also in their own words." Mr. McCulloch never carried out his intention of publishing this material, so carefully prepared; but the manuscript volumes were preserved by his family and presented by his grand-daughter in 1844 to the Free Church. Considerable extracts from them were incorporated in a small volume to which the present writer is greatly indebted. It was published in 1845 with the following title-page: "*The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, particularly at Cambuslang*. With three sermons by the Rev. George Whitefield, taken in short-hand. Compiled from original manuscripts and contemporary publications, by the Rev. D. Macfarlan, D.D., Renfrew. Issued by the Committee of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, for the publication of the works of Scottish Reformers and Divines. John Johnstone, London and Edinburgh."

Dr. Macfarlan states that Mr. McCulloch's two manuscript volumes contain 105 cases. His own volume, just referred to, gives a selection of 23 cases drawn almost equally from the two volumes. It would appear that Mr. McCulloch proceeded upon the modern method of questionnaire, for Dr. Macfarlan reports as follows: "They generally proceed so much on the same plan as to suggest the idea of certain queries being put or submitted to all, and that the information was drawn up under these heads."

Perhaps it should be mentioned at this point that both Mr. McCulloch and his editor, so to call him, Dr. Macfarlan, appear to write not only as men of piety and evangelical zeal, but also as men desirous of discovering and setting forth the truth of the matters they dealt with, and as men equipped for that task with caution and discernment. The present writer has been content, accordingly, to use only the cases selected by Dr. Macfarlan and to treat them as tolerably representative of the whole.

I

No doubt if a modern psychologist had been framing Mr. McCulloch's questionnaire he would have added certain queries not likely to occur to an 18th century parish minister. It is indeed recorded in some cases whether the party in question was married or not; apart from that, there is no recognition of the sex instinct which moderns recognise to be so fundamental.

Modern study, too, has given much attention to the gregarious or herd instinct and the psychology of crowds; and one is inclined to look in that direction for some light upon the morbid physical effects accompanying the revival. Some of these may have been due to conscious imitation on the part of scoffers and to that form of self-display which finds expression in sensation-mongering. That there were some such cases is indicated by the parish minister's reference to "gross counterfeits who crowded in among the really distressed, and observing and imitating their manner, pretended to be in a like condition." We must also allow for unconscious imitation following upon an intent observation of another case, this being due to the well-known tendency for any mental content upon which spontaneous attention is fixed to gain control of the motor-centres apart from the will, and thus to work itself out into the activity of the muscular system. That is all the more likely to occur in a crowd, where the physical proximity of others diminishes the sense of independence and the awareness of individual responsibility, and so breaks down the inhibitions of normal behaviour. Yet, however sound this approach to the extraordinary physical effects may be, it obviously cannot carry us all the way; for the breakdown of inhibitions cannot of itself produce any activity, mental or physical. More fundamental would seem to be the view that the physical manifestations were due to the activity of the instincts, particularly that of self-preservation, for the symptoms recorded appear to be generally those associated by psychologists with fear.

Alexander Roger, a youth about 15 years of age, says—"This led me to such a view of my sins, that I saw nothing but the wrath of God awaiting me and hell ready to receive me. . . . Under these awful feelings I at last fainted away; . . ." Elizabeth Dykes, a girl of about 16, says—"And such was my state of feeling that I was unable to stand; I was carried into the manse and remained with others in the hall, in great distress, all night. My sins so pressed upon me that I could not believe it possible that God would ever pardon my sins, they seemed to me to be so great. I saw nothing before me but hell-fire; and yet my sense of the evil of sin was even greater than my apprehensions of coming wraths. My lying, my Sabbath-breaking and other sins were brought fresh to my

remembrance, . . .” Again, James Kirkland a young man of 24, says—“ I continued under this impression for the space of nine days during which my distress was so great that I was rendered unfit for work, and would scarcely venture to eat, thinking I had no right to the comforts of life, and feeling as if the wrath of God would overtake me when receiving what I did not deserve.” What was the danger apprehended which aroused such fear? We have no means of telling to what extent the preachers used a crude appeal to fear in the form of threatenings of torments in hell; but it is reassuring to find that Mr. McCulloch, at any rate, was cautious at this point. Writing a few days after the first communion season he states that he has reason to believe that upwards of 500 souls have been awakened to their lost condition. Then he goes on—“ I do not include in this number such as have been found to be mere pretenders, nor such as have had nothing in their exercise beyond a dread of hell, which, as you know, may never issue in any saving change.” Moreover, in some of the cases there is a distinct disclaimer of such fear of hell. Janet Jackson, an unmarried woman of 24, reports, “ And now my unworthy communicating, my heart wandering in time of prayer and my slighting of ordinances stared upon me as enemies. I went home deeply affected. Never before had I such a sense of the evil of sin; and yet I do not remember that I had with this any fear of hell. What I felt was the provocation I had given to God.”

It is significant how often the divine condemnation is accepted as just. Alexander Roger referred to above, says, “ My sense of guilt was such that I would have thought it no injustice on God’s part had he cast me immediately into hell.” Again, a lad of 19 called Shearer says, “ My sins stared me in the face. I saw them as dishonouring to him, especially my profaning the Lord’s day and his holy name, and my going up and down drinking and playing at cards, etc. Soon after I joined a meeting of young lads for prayer. We met twice a week. I had still a very deep sense of my guilt and unworthiness, wondering that the Lord should have spared me so long and not cut me down as a cumberer of the ground.”

It must be remembered that, at the primitive impulsive level, fear is a great inhibitor of action, as the physical phenomena show, but that, at the higher levels when it becomes a factor in a complex emotional situation, fear is a reinforcing, not an inhibiting agent. Anyone, who is striving to gain a prize, redoubles his efforts when he sees the danger of losing it. The prize in view in the case of those awakened at Cambuslang was a fuller and happier self-realisation than they had hitherto imagined, the life of those who had established a perfect correspondence with an ideal environment, the life, in short, of the children of God. With the imagination of such

unspeakable possibilities there came the equally vivid sense of disharmony, failure and guilt ; hence the fear and its various effects. It would be fair, then, to say that the root of the emotional element was not fear of the torments of hell but fear of loss to the essential self, consequent on a newly acquired sense of the reality and holiness of God and of the moral law by which men's lives are at once judged and condemned.

Coming now to consider the relief of the tension, one may take the striking case of Catherine Jackson, a farm servant-girl. "She again fell a-weeping, and said, 'He will not accept of me.' 'But He will,' said the minister ; 'he assures you that he will.' Hear his own words : 'Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.' Still she continued to weep in great bitterness of spirit. 'Come,' said the minister, 'shall we pray for the help of God to draw you to Christ ?' 'Oh yes, yes,' said she, and she hastened to rise. We stood, and one present supported her in that attitude. The prayer consisted first of adoring gratitude, because of the love of God in giving his Son, and of the love of Christ in giving himself ; after which it turned on the condition of the young woman. It was but a little when she whispered to the person supporting her, that she felt as if Christ were saying to her, 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee,' and again, that he had cast all her sins behind his back. After prayer she repeated the promises which had thus been brought home to her, and broke out in a strain of exultation because of the excellences of Christ's person and the wonders of his love and free sovereign grace, and lamenting her late unbelief."

Naturally, not all the cases are so sudden or charged with emotion, especially those where the parties concerned are older. Bailie Weir of Hamilton, a married man aged 50, who had had a classical education, says : "About the end of February, 1742, I went to Cambuslang, and hearing Mr. McCulloch speak of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, as dishonouring to God and as having pierced the Saviour, I felt strangely, and got such a sense of my own sins both of heart and of life, that I could have torn myself to pieces in revenge, and it was with difficulty that I could restrain myself from crying out. The distress into which I was now thrown continued for about a month, during which I thought that I should have gone distracted. . . . Still I could not but return anew to Cambuslang ; and about the end of the month, when turning to a passage cited, that other passage cast up, 'Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth ; for I am God, and there is none else.' O what a greedy grasp did my soul make at Christ on reading these words ! My mind became calm. In about an hour, these other words gave me further help : 'The blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth from all sin.' I came straight home, went

to my closet, and found freer access than ever I had before ; and as I rose from my knees I saw in Christ a perfect sufficiency to deliver and cleanse me from all sin, and in the excellences of his person so much of willingness and grace that I could not but love him and give myself wholly to him in love. And ever since that time all things seem new." Similarly Daniel McLarty, unmarried and aged 21, reports : " In the evening when hearing Mr. Whitefield from Isaiah 54 and 5, ' Thy Maker is thine husband,' my joy was such that I could scarcely refrain from crying out that I was ready to strike hands on the bargain ; and on meeting a young man of my acquaintance after sermon, I threw my arms about him, exclaiming that Mr. Whitefield had married my soul to Christ. I lay down on the brae, and was so filled with the love of Christ and disregard for the world, that I even wished to depart and be with Christ ; and ever since my feelings have been different from what they were before." Sarah Gilchrist, 23 years of age and unmarried, reports, " And I was at the same time made to grieve that I had kept him so long knocking at the door of my heart—that I had not more freely and readily opened to him. But now, he was himself pleased to open, enabling me to close with him in all his offices, and to devote myself wholly and unreservedly to him now and for ever. This was followed by the entrance of a beam of heavenly light—I know not how else to describe it—shining upon my soul, affording me the most ravishing discoveries of the glory and excellency of Christ. . . ." Andrew Faulds, aged 21 and unmarried, says, " Hearing Mr. McCulloch give as a mark of an unbelieving state, that persons remain secure, I saw that I had been all along in an unregenerate state, and I was thereby thrown into great perplexity. While hearing, these words came into my mind with extraordinary light and power : ' Then shall we know if we follow on to know the Lord, etc.' The hope awakened in my mind by these words so grew upon me that, at a meeting of young people that very evening, I could not forbear telling them that up till that very day I could never say I had a right to Christ, but that now I thought I could ; . . . I thus came to have a reliance on Christ and therefore much love and joy so that I besought many to join with me in praising God."

It would seem that what we have in these cases, from the psychological point of view, is the supplanting of the fear-system by a more powerful sentiment. As the fear of the mother may be supplanted completely by the parental instinct so that she will fight to the death in defence of her young, and as fear in the young can be displaced by absolute confidence in the protecting care of the parent, so the strong conviction of the minister that God had given His Son for sinners and that forgiveness and acceptance were waiting for the penitent, reinforced by the coming to mind of various texts of Scripture expressing the same conviction, served, it

would seem, to overwhelm the distracted soul with a sense of the greatness of God's love and so to effect release, sometimes instantaneous, from the previous agony.

The cases seem to confirm St. John's analysis, "Perfect love casteth out fear : because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love. We love Him, because He first loved us." This sense of being loved by God and the outgoing response of love to Him is the real core of the conversion experience, and through it the character is more fully integrated and the whole personality raised to a new level of vitality and efficiency.

Let us take some examples of that integration, following out the three aspects of feeling, thinking and willing. Sometimes we find an emotional elation, characterised by a sense of newness and beauty in Nature. Elizabeth Jackson, aged 19, reports, "After this, when I heard the gospel preached it seemed to me as if it were another gospel, and that all it contained was new to me. I now heard with joy, and I read my Bible with like feelings. When I walked in the fields everything looked as if it also had changed, affording me occasion for pleasant and spiritual meditations." R. Shearer, previously mentioned, says, "On going out to the fields that I might engage in secret prayer I have had lively discoveries made to me of the glory of God as shining forth in all around me—in the heavens, the earth and the creatures about me ; and this caused me the more to wonder at the goodness and love of God to such a sinner as I was."

Enlargement of the intellectual powers is more difficult to detect. Dr. Macfarlan, noting that Catherine Jackson, mentioned above, was a servant girl in a farmhouse, remarks, "So much does grace elevate and enlarge the mind, that even the simple and unlearned think and speak to some extent as if their circumstances had been different." No doubt that comment might be made upon most of the cases, for they seem to be largely humble folk of little education ; but one must forbear to make it because it remains uncertain how far the thoughts and language recorded have been coloured by Mr. McCulloch's mind in reporting them and how far they are due to the parties themselves.

The stimulation of the practical and volitional side of personality is evident in what many of the cases have to say about their present condition. In the reports there sounds a note of adequacy, almost of victory. Take the case of William Baillie, a married man about 30 years of age. Like many others he had had a good upbringing and had remained all along conventionally religious. "I therefor thought favourably of myself, and I continued to entertain this opinion till the winter of 1741." After his awakening he says, "About this time that saying of the prophet

'Trust ye in the Lord for ever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength' came powerfully home to me, as it has often done since. I was, through it, enabled to look to God for strength to perform duty and overcome temptation. And I think it was about this time that a change was wrought upon my heart ; for ever since I have had an abhorrence of all manner of sin, and when tempted I can go to God in prayer, and often in this way I obtain relief. One thing which greatly confirmed me in this, was a mark given by Mr. McCulloch to this effect, that as many as were truly changed would curb sin in its first motions in the heart. This was now my experience, and it gave me comfort." Bessie Lyon, aged 23 and unmarried, says, "Temptations often assail me, but, through the word, their force is broken ; and though I enjoy not always a sense of God's love in Christ, my desires are always towards Him." Archibald Smith, mason in Kilbride, married, aged 40, reports, "And now in July, 1744, I find a very great difference in my state from what it was before. Formerly I had no relish for the Sabbath and its ordinances ; now I weary for both. Sometimes I think that I would even consent to my own ruin, if Christ were to be glorified thereby. Sometimes when walking alone and meditating on the things of God I am so carried out of myself as scarcely to know where I am."

Since the researches of Starbuck and Stanley Hall it has been often confidently affirmed that conversion is an adolescent phenomenon. Yet there are many notable instances to the contrary. Thouless (*Introduction to the Psychology of Religion*, p. 187) adduces Paul, Augustine and Tolstoy, and we may add John Wesley and his brother Charles. What is the bearing of the Cambuslang evidence on this point ? A little uncertainty enters in from the fact that the ages given are presumably the ages of the parties at the time Mr. McCulloch took down their statements, and that may have been a year or two after the revival. Still, with that qualification, and taking the twenty-three cases of Dr. Macfarlan's selection as they stand, and reckoning 25 years as the upward limit of adolescent development, we find 5 men over that age, most of them much over it, and 8 men under, while 9 women are under it and only one over. Taking, however 20 as the limit of adolescence, we find 11 men of that age or over and only 2 under ; while of the women 5 are over and 5 are under. Conversion, it seems, was not decisively an adolescent phenomenon at Cambuslang. Dimond (*Psychology of the Methodist Revival* p. 164) suggests that the large numbers of converts in the earliest days of Methodism who were of mature age was due to the fact that Wesley preached so largely to the new population beyond the range of the Churches influence, and therefore many of his hearers had never had the chance in youth or adolescence of hearing the Christian message. That was surely not the case in the West

of Scotland in the first half of the 18th century ; hence the proportion of mature converts at Cambuslang, though considerable, might well be expected to be less than in the case of early Methodism.

II

Let us turn now to some reflections upon the revival in the circumstances of its time. When one recalls the large part which praying groups have had in revivals of religion one is not surprised to find that they figure prominently at Cambuslang. When Mr. McCulloch came to the Parish in 1731, he found three fellowship meetings in existence, usually meeting weekly for prayer, praise and Christian conference. In 1742, they increased to a dozen or more. We have found traces of their activity in the reports of the cases already cited. Let one more suffice. Janet Jackson says, " That evening I went to Jane Galbraith's, and found there eight or nine young people who had fallen under trouble of mind, and with them was Mr. Duncan, a preacher, an elder called John Bar and a man who had been awakened by hearing Mr. Whitefield the harvest before. Mr. Duncan exhorted us not to read any book so much as our Bible, as it was fitted for persons in our condition." By 1751, these meetings had been reduced to six, but the elders in their attestation remark that the decrease has been due to various circumstances and not merely to backsliding.

One suspects that these praying groups had much to do with the coming of the revival ; for, of course, the sudden outbreak on Thursday, 18th February, 1742, was apparent only. Janet Jackson reports that in 1738, when she was a servant at the manse, she observed " some young people coming to my master about the concerns of their souls, and they seemed to be very deeply impressed." In May of that year John Wesley's heart was strangely warmed at the meeting in Aldersgate Street. Next year, first Whitefield and then Wesley were preaching to the colliers at Kingswood. An awakening had by this time been going on in Wales for several years. So early as 1734 a revival had taken place in New England under the ministry of the celebrated Jonathan Edwards, and even earlier there had been the beginnings of a movement in the Presbyterian Church in America. In the autumn of 1739 Whitefield landed in America to co-operate with revival leaders there for more than a year. Reports of such events both in England and America were available to Mr. McCulloch, and in the first statistical account of the Parish we get a glimpse of him preaching in good weather to crowded congregations out-of-doors (the church being both too small and out of repair) for about a year before the revival began ; and on the Sunday evenings,

after sermon, recounting to the listening multitude the astonishing effects produced by Whitefield's preaching, and urging with great energy the doctrines of regeneration and newness of life. Moreover, we are told that for nearly a year before "the work" began, the minister in his ordinary course of sermon "had been preaching on those subjects which tend most directly to explain the nature, and prove the necessity, of regeneration according to the different lights in which that important matter is represented in Holy Scripture." The summer of 1741 saw Whitefield's first visit to Scotland. The Seceders, it is true, turned against him because he would not confine his ministrations to them; but he found a sufficient welcome elsewhere, and in connection with our subject, it is important to note that he preached in Glasgow in September for five days in succession, morning and evening, and that not a few later converted at Cambuslang spoke of these sermons as among the first means of their awakening. Revival, in short, was in the air at the end of 1741 and the beginning of 1742; and one evidence of this at Cambuslang was that about the end of January a petition, organised by Ingram More, a shoemaker, and Robert Bowman, a weaver, was given to the minister, subscribed by about 90 heads of families, asking that a weekly lecture should be set up. This was granted and the day fixed as most suitable was Thursday. Only a few weeks after this the revival broke out, and it is significant that Thursday service which marked its beginning was preceded by prayer meetings in the manse on the three previous evenings, those attending being principally from the fellowship or prayer groups which had been in existence for a number of years before.

Neither Mr. McCulloch nor Dr. Macfarlan have anything to say about the general conditions, social and economic, of the period; but a study made in these post-Marxian days can hardly neglect such factors in the situation, however secondary they may be reckoned to be. Almost the only hint of such conditions in the reports of cases is the remark of Archibald Smith, mason in Kilbride, that at the time of the first sacrament at Cambuslang he was making good wages, and hesitated for a little over the cost of taking time off work to attend so many week-day services. The year 1740 was a year of dearth, reminiscent of the bad years which marked the turn of the century. Inclement weather spoiled the crops, a severe winter destroyed the cattle in their thousands, and in many districts people were famished (Graham, *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 170). In those days the population lay at the mercy of the weather. Agriculture was still primitive, there was little variety of crops, food for the cattle was meagre at the best; hence a wet season, even a night of storm or an early frost might make the difference between sufficiency and starvation. Such helplessness in the face of natural calamities

tended towards a sense of dependence on divine providence, though it no doubt also fostered the all too prevalent superstitions of the people. Yet there were also signs of changes, heralding the economic prosperity which became manifest in the latter part of the century in the increase of population, improved methods of agriculture, increase of manufacturers and development of roads and bridges. The defeat of Prince Charlie in 1746 is often regarded as the new opening of this chapter in Scotland's economy ; but, as Mr. James Fergusson has recently reminded us in his " Lowland Lairds," the revolution in agriculture and forestry had begun well before that date in some districts, where pioneer landowners were at work improving their estates before political stability was established. To take but one instance from agriculture, one finds that potatoes, previously grown in Scotland in gardens only, were coming into field cultivation between 1740 and 1750, half an acre being planted on trial at Kilsyth in 1730 (Graham *op-cit.* p. 173). Perhaps it would be fair to conclude that at the time of the revival there was sufficient knowledge of new economic ways to break the bondage of custom and inspire men with hope of some improvement in their lot, but as yet not nearly enough to make the prospect of economic prosperity a central interest let alone an obsession.

For the encouragement of modern preachers it may be noted that in the reports of cases there are frequent references to particular sermons as having been specially blessed to certain individuals. Janet Jackson, after concern awoke in her mind, remarks, " I begun also to think that my own minister (Mr. McCulloch) must now be preaching better than he used to do." Again and again one finds passages like this one from Archibald Bell, a married man about 38 and by trade a tailor—" Mr. McCulloch preached from these words, ' There are some of you that believe not.' From this he showed, by many marks and characters, who they are that believe not. Every word of that sermon came with power to my heart, as if Jesus had said it, and to me alone." That quotation brings before one another recurring feature of the reports, viz., how often preachers at that time gave in their sermons " marks " by which their bearers could judge whether they were included among the persons described in the text or not. John Parker, referring to a sermon on John 3 and 3 respecting the new birth, says, " as he went along explaining it, and fixing the marks of a true change, my heart kept pace, and I was enabled to see them all in my own soul." No doubt there are dangers attaching to this method of preaching and hearing. On the one hand the bearer may become too introspective and may learn to rely too much on states of feeling ; on the other hand the preacher may become over-emphatic in demanding certain impressions. A case in point is a remark of the same John Parker about a communion service at Cathcart. " The minister who addressed the table

spoke much concerning the sufferings of Christ, and then offered this as a test, that if any of the communicants failed to be affected by what had been said, they ought not to be there. I was deeply humbled in being so little affected, but felt as if this were going too far."

What were the sins that lay so heavy upon the consciences of the converts? The minister in his attestation refers to cursing and swearing, drinking and playing cards till early morning hours, family quarrels, covetousness and selfishness, and there are hints of even more scandalous offences. In the reports of cases mention is often made also of Sabbath breaking, keeping loose company, neglect of ordinances, unworthy communicating and unbelief in so long rejecting the Gospel.

One is inclined to discount some of these as being the typical sins of a community brought up under a too strict Calvinistic discipline. At the same time one must take account of the deplorable coarseness of social life in those days. John Parker, already referred to, a wauker and dyer at Busby in the parish of Carmunnock, unmarried and aged 23, makes a slight reference to that when he says that he began to see that certain practices, formerly deemed indifferent, were really sinful, and among them "The practice of singing foolish and sometimes not over-chaste ballads to while away the time. I found from experience the evil of this and other kindred amusements, and I committed to memory instead of these, portions of the Psalms, which I chanted over when at my work and found in them as much delight as I had ever done in the other." These were days when tastes were coarse and amusements rough and when all family occasions were accompanied by riot and drunkenness. In particular, "penny weddings" with their "promiscuous dancing," gross speech and indecorous conduct were with good reason condemned by the Church (*Graham, op-cit. p. 187*).

If the sins forsaken sound to a modern ear a little too puritan, one is reassured when one observes the new things to which the converts felt bound to turn. Elizabeth Dykes finds herself praying heartily for her neighbours or fellow-servants with whom she has had a difference. John Parker finds he cannot be at peace till he has offered his master some small gratuities which he now feels belong to the master rather than himself. The same young man "one day when engaged in secret prayer found great enlargement in pleading for the revival of God's work throughout the land, and for the spreading abroad of the gospel all over the world." William Baillie remarks, "My heart's desire and prayer to God is that all Israel, whether Jew or Gentile, may be saved, and that the Lord may visit every corner of the land with a reviving power." Catherine Jackson, awakened but before she found peace, "sat up a good part of the night at

my wheel that I might go to the meeting next day without giving cause of offence to my master and mistress." Most of the cases report that whereas formerly the means of grace like public worship, private prayer and Bible reading were a mere formality or even an utter weariness, now they are a keenly sought delight. As for the future, one frequently finds the converts expressing, like the apostle, a desire to depart and be with Christ and be free from sin ; though some of them indicate that this has been only a temporary phase with them. James Tenant, for example, says, " I have been forecasting sufferings for Christ, and sometimes I think that I could lay down my life for him, while at other times I fear that I might draw back ; and it is my prayer that the Lord would strengthen me. My feelings are similar concerning death. I have sometimes had a desire to depart and be with Christ, while at other times I shrink from the thought. . . . " One likes the mingled humility and confidence with which most of the reports conclude. Elizabeth Jackson says, " I cannot pretend to a fixed assurance of my state, but I would not for a thousand worlds be in the state I was in not long ago ; and I cherish a humble hope that the Lord will have mercy upon me to eternal life " ; while John Parker's declaration is, " I admit that my heart often wanders and turns aside from God in duty ; but he himself knows that I am never happy in such a state that I can never rest satisfied in such a state ; that my poor heart, like the mariner's needle, when jogged to either side, is never at rest when turned aside from Christ. . . . "

It is interesting to have Mr. McCulloch's views both as to those who showed physical signs of their distress and as to those who were filled with such joy that their relief was obvious to those around them. Regarding the first he declares, " from all that I can hear or observe, there are more of those who in 1742 were brought under concern without these bodily agitations than of such as were so affected that seem to persevere in gospel holiness. There are indeed some of both sorts, whose convictions have led to a gracious issue ; yet are there many more of the former than of the latter." Regarding the second, after referring to some who were filled with transports of joy and have continued to bring forth fruits of holiness, he goes on, " But there were others who like them, had sudden transports of joy who have since fallen away. These last, often on hearing some one saying or reading a portion of Scripture, did all at once assume its application to themselves. They had therefore for the time the joy of something real ; whereas the grounds of that joy were altogether imaginary. When the heart has not been humbled, the soul united to the saviour and made one with him in all things ; outlets from distressing terrors and sudden joy, though apparently conveyed by Scripture promises, are always to be suspected, and often not to be regarded otherwise than as the

joy of the stony-ground bearers." The worthy minister, however, as we have already seen, is able to conclude—"Glory to God, setting aside all who have remarkably backslidden, whether persisting in it still or whether they have returned from it, there is a considerable number of such as were awakened in 1742 who appear to bring forth fruits of righteousness."

In conclusion, let me add that though I have been bold enough to entitle this paper "The Pyschology of the Cambuslang Revival," I am well aware of its inadequacy from the point of view of psychology, and aware, too, that even if these defects were remedied, it would still be inadequate, for no adequate account of the psychology of Christian conversion can be given, since in these matters we are dealing with a veritable work of God.

